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ADDRESSED TO

DE WITT CLINTON, Esq.

MAYOR OF THE CITY OF NEW-YORK.

BY MARCUS.

TAKEN FROM THE POUGHKEEPSIE BAROMETER.

No. 1.

SIR,

UNACCUSTOMED to the language of panegyric, I offer no apology for the abruptness of this Address. A Republican from education, from habit, and from principle, I disdain the courtier.

The period, sir, is rapidly approaching, when the influence of truth will divest you of the ill-born honours which have enshrouded your brow. The reign of proscription will soon subside, and, it is to be hoped, will be succeeded by tolerance and forbearance. It is, however, both necessary and proper that you and your immediate satellites should be stripped of the emoluments of office. The public welfare and the voice of the people imperiously demand it. The evil forebodings of a guilty mind must long since have suggested it to you. Nor will you, in the calm and dispassionate moments of reflection, condemn this sentence as harsh. You will acknowledge its justice, and in the language of the sacred volume, exclaim, "The arrows of the Almighty are within me, the poison whereof drinketh up my spirit; the terrors of God do set themselves in array against me."

You have had the power of dispensing favours, almost without limitation; and you have executed that trust in such a manner as to excite the disgust and contempt of all moderate and disinterested men. The venerable patriot, and the war-worn soldier of our country, have been impiously thrust from petty posts, to satisfy the cravings of idle and fawning sycophants. You are encircled by a mercenary band, who, while they offer adulation to your system of terror, are rea-

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dy, at the first favourable moment, to betray and desert you. A portion of them are needy young men, who, without maturely investigating the consequences, have sacrificed principle to self-aggrandizement. Others are mere parasites, that well know the tenure on which they hold their offices, and will ever pay implicit obedience to those who administer to their wants. Many of your followers are among the most profligate of the community. They are the bane of social and domestic happiness. Servile and dependent panders, no means, however wicked, have been neglected by them to accomplish their purposes, and to carry into execution your mandates.

Numerous are the charges which have been exhibited against you. Some of them have doubtless been exaggerated, and others have no foundation in truth. Sufficient have, however, been established to bring upon you the odium of your fellow-citizens. It is not my design to repeat those charges, nor to load you with vulgar and unmeaning epithets. To triumph over a fallen enemy is cruel in the extreme. But there is one part of your conduct which has excited much conversation, and is but very imperfectly understood. It betrays, however, a species of perfidy and falsehood repugnant to the feelings of a man of honour, and too undignified for the most grovelling wretch that receives the patronage, or boasts the confidence, of even De Witt Clinton.

The subject to which I allude, is the *union*, as it has been facetiously termed. And although I shall be brief, yet I shall convince you and your associates that I am no stranger to the details connected with that transaction. How I came to the possession of them, is not material to you, and is unimportant to the public. The tale shall be a plain unvarnished one, carrying on the face of it proofs of its accuracy. My next number shall be devoted to this subject, and in the presence of God and my country, I pledge myself to establish your *DUPPLICITY* and your *PERFIDY*.

MARCUS.

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Nº. II.

TO DE WITT CLINTON, ESQ.

SIR,

IN the presence of God and my country, I am pledged to establish your duplicity and your perfidy. But it will be first necessary to prove, beyond the possibility of doubt,

EVERY



that Gen. Bailey, in the negotiations on the subject of a *Union* between the Burrrites and Clintonians, was your authorized agent ; acting under your instructions ; and with your knowledge and approbation, compromising the party of which you are considered the chieftain. This, sir, shall be done : It shall be done in such a manner as to leave no place of refuge for the most sceptical of your sycophantic followers. And I now solicit the attention of the honest and independent of every party, while I proceed to unveil a transaction, which, for political treachery and baseness, could have no equal, but in the history of a tyrant that, with wild and extravagant ideas, would attempt to prostrate our constitution, and destroy the liberty of the citizens, that on their ruins he might be elevated to official dignity and honour.

About the 24th of December, 1805, Mr. Levi M'Keen, of Poughkeepsie, arrived in the City of New-York, and shortly after called on different gentlemen among his political friends, stating to them that overtures had been made by the Clintonians, to form an union with the Burrrites, and his opinion that the plan was feasible. He added, that he had conversed with Gen. Bailey on the subject, and was desirous that Col. Swartwout should consent to an interview for the same purpose. Mr. M'Keen was informed that there were numerous and almost insurmountable obstacles to such a measure, inasmuch as the friends of Col. Burr could never place confidence in the engagements of De Witt Clinton, until *he should have done some act*, indicative of his sincerity.

It was then suggested, that as Mr. Clinton had not the power of giving offices at that moment, and thus *publicly committing himself*, he should give to the friends of Col. Burr, pecuniary aid, through the medium of the Manhattan Bank, of which he was a Director : and from which Bank they were almost totally excluded, by a system of intolerance and persecution.

This point, after two or three days' discussion, was conceded as reasonable and proper. Hitherto Mr. M'Keen and Gen. Bailey were the only agents ; but the affair assuming a more important aspect, it became necessary that some person residing in the city of New-York, known to be friendly to Col. Burr, should undertake the arrangement ; and Col. Swartwout was selected. It was, however, determined, that no movement should be made, on the part of the Burrrites, but by solicitation.

On the 5th of January, M'Keen left the City of New-York, and on the 7th Mr. Swartwout received from Gen. Bailey a written note, inviting him to spend an hour with him that evening, which invitation was accepted. After some desultory conversation, the plan of terminating the division between the Burrites and the Clintonians was introduced by Gen. Bailey. Mr. Swartwout immediately inquired whether he was authorized by the Mayor, or merely spoke as Gen. Bailey in his private capacity. The General replied, that he was authorized by Mr. Clinton. They then proceeded to the discussion of the subject; and their interview lasted about four hours. Mr. Swartwout remarked, however, as a preliminary to the discussion, that the friends of Col. Burr retained their respect and esteem for that gentleman; that his friends were their friends, and his enemies their enemies.

From this day until the 11th of January, the interviews between Gen. Bailey and Col. Swartwout were almost daily. At some of their meetings R. Riker was present; at others, Pierre C. Van Wyck. During the whole negotiation, however, Mr. Clinton never consulted any person or persons, it is believed, but those above named.

The character of Richard Riker is well known. His instability as a politician is notorious. In 1798 he was conspicuous as a federalist, and in the public market triumphed at the success of the federal ticket in the City of New-York. To De Witt Clinton, since his appointment to office, he is as the *pilot-fish* to the *shark*.

P. C. Van Wyck is a young man, unacquainted with the political concerns of the state, and consequently a very incompetent judge of measures of policy.

Here, Sir, permit me to ask the question, are you capable of offering a greater insult to the old and respectable members of the republican party, than you did, in thus selecting as counsellors and advisers, two young men, to the exclusion of all those who had contributed to elevate you to the dignified station you now hold? Was there not one man among that party, of years and experience, worthy your confidence?

On the 11th of January the negotiation was finally concluded. The terms and conditions of it shall be the subject of my next number. Let me again request the public to bear in mind the solemn and sacred pledge I have made.

MARCUS.



## Nº. III.

TO DE WITT CLINTON, ESQ.

SIR,

ON the 11th of January, as you well know, the terms of an union of Burrism and Clintonianism, was concluded, and they were as follows :

*Firstly*—That Col. Burr should be recognized by the union party, as a republican.

*Secondly*—That the Editor of the American Citizen should desist from all attacks upon him or his friends ; that he should advocate the union, if it became necessary, in his paper ; and that he should not defend the Burrites as *returning* to republican principles, they persisting that they never had abandoned them.

*Thirdly*—That the friends of Col. Burr, as it respected appointments to offices of honour or profit throughout the state, should be placed on the same footing as the most favoured Clintonians ; and that their Burrism should never be urged as an objection to their filling those offices.

*Fourthly*—That at the approaching election in April, the Burrites should have a portion of at least one third of the Representatives of the City and County of New-York, in the State Legislature.

*Fifthly*—That De Witt Clinton should see that they (the Burrites) were accommodated to any reasonable amount they might require in the Manhattan Bank, and that he should actually procure for an individual, in the course of the next week, an accommodation, in said bank, of at least \$18,000.

Such were the conditions of the union, as concluded on the morning of the 11th of January. Mr Swartwout having reported the result of his negotiations, it was their opinion that Gen. Bailey ought to repeat them to some other friend of Col. Burr. The General was noticed of this circumstance, and cheerfully assented. Accordingly, on the same day, about one o'clock, Mr. Mat. L. Davis accompanied Mr. Swartwout, by appointment, to the house of Gen. Bailey, where, in the presence of those two gentlemen, he repeated the above terms as the basis of a reconciliation.

On Monday, the 13th January, the Manhattan Bank, in pursuance of the above arrangement, discounted, for the accommodation of a distinguished Burrite, a note of *Nine*

*Thousand Dollars* ; and on Thursday, the 16th, another note of *Nine Thousand Dollars*, for the accommodatin of the same person, making the *Eighteen Thousand Dollars*, stipulated for in the 5th article.

Other friends of Col. Burr were accommodated with smaller, but very considerable sums, who could not previously obtain *One Cent* from the coffers of that institution.

Having stated the facts to the 16th January, with your permission, Sir, I will make the application. If Gen. Bailey was not your authorized agent, acting with your knowledge and approbation, how did it happen, Sir, that he should undertake to pledge the funds of the Manhattan Bank, of which he was not a Director, for the accommodation of Mr. Burr's friends, to the amount of thousands and twenties of thousands of dollars ; and that those promises and pledges should be faithfully performed ? How did it happen, Sir, that the Gen. should, on the 11th January, agree that a loan should be effected by that bank on the 14th for \$9000, and another loan on the 16th for an equal amount, and yet not be acting under your authority ? But it does not stop here. The General pledged himself that you should procure discounts for other friends of Col. Burr, and they also were furnished in various instances, and it is believed in every instance, where applied for previous to the rupture. I repeat it ; let it be recollected, Gen. Bailey was not a Director of that Bank. He had no controul over its funds. You was a Director ; and you have your puppets there, that you move as you please. The conclusion is irresistible. Gen. Bailey must have acted by your authority ; and the man who asserts a contrary position, after reading this, must stand convicted as a *knave* or a *fool*.

One observation more, and I close this number. If the facts which I have detailed respecting your directorship are unfounded, they are susceptible of refutation. The books of that institution are at your command. The Vice-President of the Company, James Arden, of all *tools*, is the most contemptible. Procure his certificate to the contrary. I have stated the precise days of the week and of the month, and it would require but very little labour to make the reference ; but this I know will never be done ; for they are unanswerable truths which I have related.

Having established the fact, that Gen. Bailey was your authorized agent, I proceed to show your duplicity towards



your own party, and your perfidy towards the friends of Col. Burr. Let those men designated Clintonians, particularly in the City of New-York, carefully peruse my next publication, and if they retain one atom of laudable pride ; one ray of self-importance ; if they are not sunk and debased beneath the native dignity of man, they will spurn your future confidence, and no longer remain the miserable automatons of a treacherous chief.

MARCUS.

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N<sup>o</sup>. IV.

TO DE WITT CLINTON, ESQ.

SIR,

ON the 11th Janurary, the negociations, as already stated, were terminated ; and on the 13th the conditions, in part, carried into operation, by discounts in the Manhattan Bank. Mr. Clinton having thus *given a pledge* of his sincerity ; it was agreed, that an interview should take place between him and Col. Swartwout. Thursday evening, the 16th, at six o'clock, at the house of Gen. Bailey, by arrangement, they met. About 7 o'clock, Mr. Clinton's counsellors and advisers, Riker and Van Wyck, came into the room to express their *heartfelt* satisfaction at this UNION OF HONEST MEN. They remained about an hour and then retired.

It had been previously determined that the *leaders* of the Clinton party should manage their own men in their own way, and that no communication should be made by the Burrites; to the followers of Mr. Clinton.

I have now arrived at a stage of this transaction, where your *duplicity* shone resplendent. No apology is necessary to *you* for stripping the vizard from your face : But it is a duty I owe to the community, to acknowledge, that nothing but the most gross perfidy on your part, could justify me in developing a transaction, which, for the honour of human nature, ought ever to have remained in the most profound oblivion.

Here I request the reader, and particularly the present representatives from the City and County of New-York, to pay attention to *dates*. They are important. They will serve to satisfy every candid and dispassionate man, that on *great questions* Mr. Clinton has very few *confidants*, and they are not to be found among the gentlemen who have the *honour* of representing the metropolis of the state.

On the 11th, the union was concluded ; on the 13th, a part of the conditions were carried into operation ; on the 16th, Mr. Clinton and Mr. Swartwout had their interview ; and yet, on the 17th, there was not an individual member of the Legislature, Riker excepted, who had the most distant suspicion of such an event having taken place ; because on that day, the 17th, and the next, both James Warner, and Francis Cooper, were busily employed with Riker, in endeavouring to bring about this desirable reconciliation. These men were honest and sincere ; but they will perceive, while communicating and planning with Riker as to the best means to accomplish the object, he was laughing in his sleeve at their credulity ; and triumphing with Van Wyck and Clinton, at the facility with which the *well-born* and the *great*, too frequently impose upon the weak and the ignorant. Such must ever be the degraded state of men, who implicitly follow demagogues.

On or about the 18th, *seven days after* the union had been concluded, a dinner was given by Mr. Clinton, at which the members of the Legislature, with other *leading* republicans, were present. At this dinner the subject of the union was the topic of conversation. Here it was that De Witt played *his part* with great adroitness. He could scarcely hazard an opinion, as to the policy of the measure. — He was willing to sacrifice his resentments and his feelings for the public good ; and was determined to be governed by his friends. Consummate duplicity ! The prevailing sentiment was, that the measure would be, in a political view, highly advantageous. No man appeared more gratified with the prospect of success than William W. Gilbert ; and all who spoke of it, were willing to make an effort to accomplish it. The company retired with these impressions, each doubtless complimenting their great chief on his liberality of sentiment and disinterested patriotism !

To comment on this scene of duplicity and fraud is certainly not requisite. If the adherents of Mr. Clinton are still willing to remain his *dupes*, they have no right to complain, if stigmatized by the upright and independent of every party, as the most base and grovelling panders that ever disgraced any country.

Where is the pride of William W. Gilbert ? And where the high and towering spirit which once glowed in the bosom of many of our old and respectable republicans ? In short,



where is the man in the party who does not feel a degree of mortification and chagrin, at being excluded from the confidence of his leader, while such men as Mr. Riker and Mr. Van Wyck are selected to decide on its most important arrangements?

The statement which I have given will account for the appointment of Mr. Van Wyck, Recorder of the City of New-York, and the unexampled efforts which were used to procure for him that situation.

Such, sir, has been your duplicity towards your friends. They have good and cogent reasons for complaint. The public have strong claims to a full and complete knowledge of this transaction; because it serves to develop an important trait in your character. Whether that development will redound to your honour or your fame, is not my province to decide. It is a question I refer to a political tribunal, from which there is no appeal—*the voice of the People*. In my next I shall detail your deportment, your language, and your *promises*, to the friends of Col. Burr, at the house of Gen. Bailey, on the evening of the 24th January, where you met them by appointment.

MARCUS.



Nº. V.

TO DE WITT CLINTON, ESQ.

SIR,

I HAVE already shown that the fifth article of the treaty was complied with by you. So, also, was the second, which relates to the Editor of the American Citizen. He adhered to his *orders* on that occasion, when menaced with political ruin by the populace. For years had he unceasingly vilified not only Col. Burr, but all his friends: they were charged with an abandonment of principle; and represented as the most vile and daring faction in the community. But no sooner was the *alliance* formed, than these men were complimented and panegyricized for their eminent services as republicans, and their inflexible attachment to their friend. With this servile inconsistency staring him in the face, how can Cheetham prate of his independence of sentiment? It must be remembered, he has published to the world, that both parties kept him ignorant of their arrangements; that neither considered him entitled to their confidence. Why should

they? It is evident, however, that *both* conceived they had a right to *contract* for him, and to agree between themselves what he should and what he should not publish. And yet this man talks of *tools* and *hireling Editors*!

You will pardon, sir, I trust, an occasional digression from yourself, when you perceive that my attention is engaged by your *chosen friends*, and most intimate associates.

From the 18th until the 24th of January, nothing material, relative to the *Union*, transpired. On the evening of the latter day it was agreed you should again meet, at the house of Gen. Bailey, some of Col. Burr's friends. At the appointed hour Col. Swartwout, Mr. M. L. Davis, and Peter Irving, attended. Shortly after they were seated, Mr. Clinton's name was announced. He entered the room, to the astonishment of the congregated Burrites, accompanied by Ezekiel Robins. This gentleman was conspicuous as an advocate of Col. Burr; but he had not been apprised by his friends of the reconciliation; they were, however, embarrassed. After a few minutes pause, Mr. Clinton explained. He stated that he had considered it his duty to call on Mr. Robins, and to inform him of the happy termination of the contest between "*two sections of the Republican party*;" that at his request, Mr. Robins had accompanied him home, from whence he had conveyed him in his (Mr. Clinton's) carriage, to the house of Gen. Bailey. Such, sir, was your zeal, at the commencement of this celebrated union, to convene the friends of Mr. Burr, and to meet them.

At this meeting your deportment was frank and open; and if I am not much deceived, you made an impression on the friends of Col. Burr, then present, that you were sincere, and that your future conduct would be correct and honourable. You ardently expressed your wishes for a perfect amalgamation of the parties; and in *promises* you were lavish. *Burrites*, you said, *must* be sent, at the next spring election, from the city and county of New-York, to the State Legislature. Mr. Peter Townsend *must* represent Orange county—Mr. Joseph Annin, of the senate, *must* be chosen a member of the Council of Appointment, if sufficient interest could be made for him—Levi M'Keen, of this town, *should* be appointed clerk, in the room of Gilbert Livingston, whom *you* would remove from office. To detail all your friendly assurances at this meeting, would be tedious to me, mortify-



ing to you, and not interesting to the public. Certain it is, that your ingenuity and talents were called into operation to impress the Burrites with the opinion that you was ardent, sincere, and determined on a system of policy that should prove gratifying to them, and flattering to Col. Burr.

There is one circumstance which occurred at this meeting, that demands my notice, and the most sincere animadversions of your party. With respect to the men that enjoy your confidence, it is decisive. As Mr. Riker would say, "*It puts the question at rest for ever.*"

You were informed that the friends of Col. Burr had been in the habit of communicating and consulting freely with each other; that they believed that system of policy most correct; and you were asked with whom of your party they should confer during your absence, if events should require conference. You replied, "*General Bailey, and P. C. Van Wyck.*" Yes, sir, these were the men selected by you as the *leaders* of the republican party, and the guardians of that cause, during the absence of Mr. Riker and yourself. These men were to decide on the measures and plans proper to be adopted and pursued, and to express your sentiments and wishes to the Burrites. And yet your deluded followers have had the temerity to assert that Gen. Bailey was not your authorized agent. Little, very little do they know of your movements. And if they are determined to remain ignorant; if they will not read, examine, and decide for themselves, they merit such *leaders* as Wortman, Clinton, and Cheetham; and may they long feel the effects of their system of intolerance, rebounding upon their own heads! I forbear, because I have neither time nor inclination to comment on the indignity offered to the republican party, in selecting the two gentlemen you did, as the proper and only persons for the Burrites to confer with, when arrangements were necessary to be made with a view to the approaching election, or on any other political subject.

With respect to the proceedings at Dyde's and Martling's, I shall at present say nothing. The public had not, even there, accurate knowledge of the movements of your satellites. I shall now notice your arch and jesuitical letter of the 3d of March, dated Albany, and addressed to Gen. Bailey, with the prompt and honourable answer you received from Col. Swartwout, Peter Irving, and M. L. Davis.—These documents are before me; you also possess them. If

I misrepresent, publish them to the world : they will confirm every sentence I utter, and they will decide unchangeably your political doom.

MARCUS.



No. VI.

TO DE WITT CLINTON, ESQ.

SIR,

I KNOW not whether contempt or indignation is the strongest emotion excited in my bosom, on perusing your letter of the 3d of March, addressed to Gen. Bailey : Contempt for the mean and hypocritical manner in which you endeavoured to screen yourself from popular odium—indignation for your false and ungentlemanly indignities. Nor could I comment on this production without asperity, or showing temper, if my mind was not occasionally diverted from it to the frank, manly, and dignified answer, you received from Col. Swartwout, Peter Irving, and M. L. Davis.

On the 20th of February, the Burrites and Clintonians met at Dyde's, and partook of a supper prepared for the occasion, and which has since been termed the *Union* supper. At this entertainment a number of toasts were drank complimentary to Col. Burr and his friends. The publication of them produced considerable agitation in the Clintonian ranks. The flame was fanned by a few artful and designing men, who were not invited to the festival, and were, therefore, disappointed and chagrined. These men, in connexion with others that were honest in their views, procured a meeting at Martling's on the evening of the 24th February, where some violent and inflammatory resolutions were passed against the *Union*, and its author. You perceived, Sir, that your popularity would sustain a serious, perhaps an irrecoverable shock, unless you could completely free yourself from the appearance of having any knowledge of the negotiations on the subject of the union. To effect this, and thus save from political ruin the chief of the faction, it was determined, as a *peace-offering*, to sacrifice Gen. Bailey.—With this view your letter of the 3d of March was written. You intended that the General should exhibit it to the discontented and dissatisfied.



In the letter alluded to, you remark that you approve of the proceedings at Martling's ; that you hope the *imprudence* of your friends at Dyde's will be overlooked ; that to receive the Burrtes, is "*universally agreeable* ;" but that this reception should be tainted with *promises* of office, &c. would be ruin to your cause. You add, that it was reported, a treaty had been formed, consisting of *five* articles, one of which was, that Wm. P. Van Ness should be Secretary of State ; and another, that Col. Burr should be Governor, and that this had been shown to Mr. Eppes, the President's son-in-law. You close, by saying, " Prompt and *efficient* measures should be taken to contradict these *infamous falsehoods*. Perhaps the most proper mode would be, to require frank and explicit declarations from gentlemen of the Burr party."

This letter was addressed to Gen. Bailey. Why to him? Because throughout the whole transaction, he was your agent, and acted under your control. And when this letter was written, you presumed he would understand the object. Unfortunately, however, for you, the General, in the plenitude of his wisdom, showed it to the three gentlemen already mentioned. Their prompt and energetic answer must have been very unexpected. Did you, Sir, imagine, when you wrote your letter, that to make promises to the Burrtes would be ruin to your cause? Or did you intend to *gull* your adherents, through your agent, Bailey, into a belief that you had made no *promises*? Your design evidently was, to produce an impression that no *promises* or *engagements* had been made by you. This was a trick of perfidy and deception ; because through your agent you made all the promises enumerated in my third letter, and personally, on the 24th of January, you *promised*, if possible, to make Joseph Annin, a member of the Council of Appointment ; and *positively* to make Levi M'Keen, Clerk of Dutchess, in the stead of Gilbert Livingston, whom you was determined to remove from office. Deny the truth of these assertions, if in any point of view they are incorrect. They were made in the presence of Gen. Bailey, Ezekiel Robins, John Swartwout, M. L. Davis, and Peter Irving. I repeat it ; these gentlemen were all present when you promised, previous to the meeting of the Legislature, on the 24th January, the offices specified ; and yet according to your hypocritical letter of the 3d of March, to make *promises*, would dishonour and ruin your party !

You next refer to a treaty which had been shown to Mr. Eppes, and mention only *two* of *five* articles, it is said to contain. Were the other *three* correctly stated? You close your letter by suggesting the propriety of frank and explicit explanations from gentlemen of the Burr party. Did these gentlemen afford you the explanations required? And were they satisfactory? I will state, as briefly as possible, the substance of their reply.

They admit that there were no conditions relative to Col. Burr, or Mr. Van Ness, of the nature mentioned in yours of the 3d March; and add that the reconciliation was "*on terms of perfect equality.*" They also state that this circumstance was within your own knowledge. How within your own knowledge? Because your agent, Gen. Bailey, negotiated, and *you* consummated the union.—They then proceed to require, in return, explanations from you, on certain points, and inform you that their intention is to make your reply public, "with a view to obviate erroneous impressions."

"It is understood, (say they) that you and your friends countenance areport, that the exclusion of Mr. Burr is a condition of the reconciliation. We have, on the contrary, maintained that no such suggestion was made; that no sentiment, *but of respect for Mr. Burr*, was expressed by the gentleman, who acted in behalf of your party: and that in the early stages of the adjustment, the friends of Mr. Burr *pointedly disclaimed* any idea of the kind." What was your conduct on the receipt of this answer? Did you proceed to discuss the points in dispute, or to defend the position you had taken? No, Sir, after inviting, you shrunk from the investigation. You know that the exclusion of Mr. Burr was never contemplated; that his friends would have spurned at, and treated with disdain, any such proposition. You knew the *promises* you had made on the 24th of January, and you was therefore incapable of replying.

Had I not already exceeded the limits prescribed to myself, I should say much more on this subject, but I fear to prove tedious. If, however, I have misrepresented your letter, or the answer you received, I again call upon you to publish them. The letter of Swartwout, Irving, and Davis, does them great honor. It contains some independent sentiments, correctly and elegantly expressed. A few observations more, and I close these papers.

MARCUS.



## N°. VII.

TO DE WITT CLINTON, ESQ.

SIR,

I have performed the task which I imposed upon myself, and I trust there is not an impartial, or disinterested man, in the state, who peruses these letters with attention, but will admit that I have established the following points.

*First*.—That Gen. Bailey was your authorized agent, and with your knowledge and approbation negotiated, and entered into stipulations and engagements with the Burrites, as to the basis of an union.

*Secondly*.—That acting as your agent he made certain pledges and *promises*, which pledges and promises were immediately performed by you.

*Thirdly*.—That from the 11th January, the day on which the negotiations were terminated, until some time in February, you acted towards your own friends, with *unprecedented duplicity*, inasmuch as you not only kept them ignorant of your arrangement with the Burrites and your meetings with Mr. Swartwout, but in a *sportive* and *ungenerous* manner, imposed upon their credulity, causing them to use their exertions in bringing about that reconciliation which you had previously bargained for, and consummated, and thus placing them before the Burrites in the light of contemptible *tools*.

*Fourthly*.—That you excluded from your confidence every member of the legislature, Riker excepted; that you never deigned to consult any of the old and experienced republicans, as to the propriety or policy of an union with the Burrites, until after that union was formed; and that your only counsellors and advisers were, Gen. Bailey, R. Riker, and P. C. Van Wyck.

*Fifthly*.—That you displayed *great zeal* to satisfy the Burrites on the 24th January, by calling on Ezekiel Robins, one of their most ardent friends, at his house, conveying him to yours, and from thence to Gen. Bailey's, in your own carriage.

*Sixthly*.—That on the evening of the 24th January, at the house of Gen. Bailey, in the presence of *five* gentlemen already named, you *promised* to put into the council of appointment, if sufficient interest could be made for him, Joseph Annin, of the Western District; to remove from office the late Gilbert Livingston, and to appoint in his stead, Levi M'Keen.

*Seventhly*.—That on the aforementioned evening you were asked, by the friends of Col. Burr, with whom they could confidentially communicate, if communications were necessary on the subject of the approaching election, or any other political business, during your absence, and you referred them to Gen. Bailey, and P. C. Van Wyck, as your confidential friends, thus excluding the whole of that party, of which you are considered the *leader*.

*Eighthly.*—That on the 3d of March, you addressed a letter to Gen. Bailey, fraught with perfidy to the Burrites, and duplicity to your own friends,—attempting to make the latter believe you were ignorant of the negotiations with the friends of Col. Burr, whereas you had *personal* interviews with them, and had *personally* made them *promises*.

*Ninthly.*—That in this letter you invited frank and explicit explanations on the subject from gentlemen of the Burr party, and thus insinuated that you were ready to give them.

*Tenthly.*—That your letter was promptly and explicitly answered on the 12th March, by Col. Swartwout, Peter Irving, and M. L. Davis, who requested from you explanations as to certain reports said to be countenanced by you, informing, that it was their intention to make your letter public, “*with a view to remove erroneous impressions;*” that after seeking this investigation, you shrank from the contest, and never dared to commit yourself in reply, knowing that such committal must inevitably involve you in an awkward dilemma.

Some inquiries will possibly be made, how an ob-cure individual should possess an accurate knowledge of all the facts contained in these letters? I answer, that during the whole of the negotiation, two Burrites of respectability, from the Western District, were in the city of New-York, and consulted as to every measure adopted by Col. Swartwout. With both these gentlemen I have conversed freely. From Levi M’Keen I received a part of my information, and from gentlemen in New-York, other details. In short, my authorities, I am perfectly satisfied, are, in every particular, correct. But in most instances I have made references. If I have mistaken any facts, where I have referred to particular gentlemen, I call upon those gentlemen, as men of honour, as the guardians of truth, and as the enemies of defamation, to point out my errors and to correct them. I may be assailed by the envenomed shafts of party slanderers, but I shall disregard them. Neither my avocations nor my disposition would justify a long and tedious controversy.

Believing that I have completely established the point above enumerated, it remains for the people to decide between us. I well know, Sir, in this attack, the disadvantages under which I labour. I am willing to admit their force; and I have only to regret that our countrymen, in similar cases, are not more frequently influenced by the objections which will be urged against me.

It will be said, Marcus is an anonymous writer, unknown to the public, perhaps influenced by a spirit of revenge, and regardless of truth: And it will be added, Mr. Clinton is the *leader* of a party, high in their confidence, and possessing their esteem. These, with many other arguments, will be urged by your adherents. They are reasonable, and deserve the most mature and deliberate consideration of the people. But they deserve it in a pre-eminent degree, at this crisis, when the press is unbrausingly prostituted to the vilest purposes; when the most spotless characters in society, are unfeelingly torn and lacerated to accomplish party views; and when public taste seems so corrupted and vitiated, that nothing but the lowest slanders are palatable. I ask only a dispassionate and calm decision. If the facts I have stated are not well established; if a doubt remains on the mind of any man—then would Marcus, who knows your guilt, plead with that man for your acquittal. I repeat it, our countrymen are too prone to listen to the voice of defamation, and too willing to sacrifice our best and most useful patriots on presumptive evidence. But if on the other hand, the charges I have made against you are well supported, and you appear to them guilty of duplicity and treachery, it is their duty to pass upon you a stern, but just sentence. I have only to say to them, “See that what thou receivest as truth, be not the shadow of it; what thou acknowledgest as convincing, is too often but plausible.—Be firm, be constant, determine for thyself; so shalt thou be answerable only for thine own weakness.”

MARCUS.